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ANARCHO-BOLSHEVIKS WHO CHANGED THEIR MINDS

In looking backwards from 1919 till the fateful year 1933, surveying the years of the Russian and German revolution and its after-period, one is startled by the fact that Anarchism was deserted by many of its erstwhile exponents. This has had a greater effect of increasing the powers of reaction, making its revival possibly the easier, than many who have not actively been in the struggle can surmise.

Most of those who deserted Anarchism became Bolsheviks; some became Syndicalists, by which I understand all those who create trade-unions outside of the anarchist-federative movement, who maintain that syndicalism has its "own principles", suffices for itself and altogether wish to submerge the anarchist organizations into the syndicalist one, which is always centralistic in fact and in practice. Those former anarchists who turned syndicalists have not learned anything from the experience made with syndicalism until 1914. I had foreseen this development in my pamphlet issue in 1917: "In Criticism and Appreciation of Syndicalism."

After the war syndicalism can claim for itself one unenviable merit. It has given many of its tenets to Fascism. It is well-known that Mussolini praises until today George Sorel, and claims, not unjustly, to have received directly from him the impetus to most of his newly varnished theories of ancient autocracy and dictatorship. Those who know Sorel's ridiculously exaggerating veneration for the mean political schemer Lenin in the introduction to the second edition of his machiavellian book "Reflections on Violence", will fully understand why and how Mussolini can pride himself of Sorel as one of his intellectual tutors.

Another one of the French socialists, who was one of the ablest theoreticians of Syndicalism, Hubert Lagardelle, became one of the most intimate advisors of Mussolini. He was also a member in the ministry of the late Laval, of whom very few remember that right after the war he has been a "communist" and a "revolutionary syndicalist" at the same time.

Still, those who openly went over to Fascism are not the worst. Frank admission of even the greatest wrong prevents deceit and abuse of those who do not want to be deceived and should not be confused. Much more dangerous were those alleged anarchists who under the cloak of anarchism and syndicalism were representing purely bolshevist ideas and methods and were fighting against those anarchists who remained true to anarchism, therefore being enemies of all shades of marxism.

It remains to be shown and proven by history how fearful those anarcho-bolsheviks have harmed our cause. They have handicapped our movement wilfully. By weakening it they have undoubtedly been one of the causes, and not the least, which have made way for the success of Fascism.

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Since that time some of these erstwhile renegates have recognized their awful mistake, if not crime.

One of those who not only recognizes their wrong, but has the character to confess it publicly, is the once-upon-a-time theoretician of so-called "revolutionary syndicalism for itself", Edward Berth. He did this in an article in "La Revolution Proletarienne" (Paris).

The editor and founder of this review is Pierre Monatte. He was before the war one of the best anarcho-syndicalists in France and a delegate to the international anarchist congress at Amsterdam, in 1907. After the war he became a bolshevik, then turned to the Trotsky-faction, to which he adheres to a great extent until now, at the same time representing "revolutionary syndicalism" as totalitarian for itself. It is, therefore, very pleasing that in this very same review we find the tremendous important article by Berth, entitled: "Towards A New Mystification?"

This article is very laudable. Berth wants to save the working-people of France the dire experience of other countries, especially Germany, the belief that one can combat and overcome Fascism by a fusion with all anti-fascistic elements, regardless of their own anti-libertarian aim. While Berth till 1914, as collaborator of the review "The Socialist Movement", together with Lagardelle and others, tried to make the workers believe that syndicalism "unto itself" suffices; while at the time and afterwards he was combating anarchism—now he recognizes his mistake and sees that only by anarchism can the workers emancipate themselves, who otherwise are positively not able, contrary to Marx, to emancipate themselves. Let us quote Berth:

I hereby retake Proudhon's theme: Personal and despotic government is impossible; Government as such is impossible. This Anarchist standpoint, does it appear unreasonable, utopian, incapable to arrest for even one moment the atten-

tion of a serious mind which has some little sense for realities?

We all have, I know it, the prejudice that a chief is necessary; the prejudice of the state; the government prejudice. Our religious, schooling and political formation and make-up has made us suck into us with the motherly milk that prejudice. We are all convinced that without government there would be disorder, paganism, chaos, anarchy in the vulgar sense of that word. But, oh ye good people, oh ye powerful genius, who believe to possess it all within the limits of your brains, although it is very narrow, namely the magic formula of order, of organization and social harmony—you all have not yet yourselves perceived that really very palpable truth that, as a matter of simple fact, it is government which is the initial disorder and which fundamentally keeps up that disorder so as to conserve its own sense of being!

Leave to any group of human beings its autonomy, so that within that group anyone has his initiative, his way of going, his belief, his enthusiasm, and you will see that this group realizes marvels, and how much it will be superior to all your so well put into rank and file and well organized Automats.

We have before our eyes the last example of that presumptuous Fascism which was supposed to bring everything back into order. We have Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, all dictators, who wanted, under different slogans, to give and render a new force to the notion of the State. Well, can

one maintain reasonably that they have . . . succeeded? There is no rule over economy; the Italian people starves, the German people starves and the Russian is not better off. Mussolini, ~~refuse~~ to nourish the people, sees himself forced—the classical revenge of all ~~howling~~ dictators—to make a war. Because ~~one~~ must (is it not thus?) either pillage one's own people or the neighboring ones. That is the inevitable ransom of all governmentism! Verily, if anything can heal mankind from the ailment of the prejudice that there is a necessity for a chieftain, it ought to be the very clear spectacle of impotent and sterile Fascism.

Government is an impossibility! We have seen, in France, since 150 years of our experience that all governments and all sorts of constitutions, which are possible and imaginable, have proven themselves as no good. What does there remain for us to do still? In reality, there is nothing else possible for us any more than . . . An-Archy, i. e., a condition of non-government. It is the only invincible and logical conclusion of all our political and social evolutions.

There is nothing remaining for us than to leave the trail of the politician and of government, in order to found a new society, the order of free producers.

* * *

Another one who has recognized the horrible mistake into which many revolutionists have fallen in misunderstanding or not comprehending anarchism, is J. Pera. He is one who now goes to the root of the evil, grasping the sad truth that it became the hotbed out of which fascism was drawing its origin and vitality. And he, at last, sees most clearly that revolutionary phraseology is not tantamount with real revolutionary action, that, as Marx has taught, to voice the downfall of capitalism, is useless demagoguery if nothing better can be offered, which better is only rendered by anarchism, by its higher economy, nobler culture and alone elevated humanitarianism. Now Pera is also "looking it through" at last. Let us extract some of his noteworthy remarks:

Stalin's Russia offers us a very sad picture. But is it because Stalin stands at the helm of it? Very many comrades wrongly believe it.

Very many comrades who have struggled during the heroic period of the Russian revolution are disgusted with that what has become out of the object of their hopes. They find a foolish explanation for their disillusion and are cursing Stalin for them. Quite especially, the Trotskyites are doing this. With them it has become a system and method. All would be very well, think they, it were a very good revolution, directed by the best party, were it not—that such an evil genius as Stalin had come; through him all became rotten . . .

A very superficial conception, indeed. Stalin and his personal rule is nothing else than the logical continuation of a policy which believed that it is possible to arrive at the welfare of liberty by the evil of the terror of the police-force, which had the nonsensical notion that one can achieve liberty through tyranny.

There are quite some of us who have believed thus in 1918. Well, from Tyranny there could only come forth tyranny. Our illusions, which were a mixture of powerful dogmas without knowledge and of a love for easy solutions, they are now broken down. Let us recognize it and avow that we are the ones who have changed and not the Russian revolution. All what is revolting to us now—a-days in bolshevism did exist already at that time, it was easy to be foreseen in that very same bolshevism to which we have rendered our homage.

Have we thus been wrong in 1918 when we adhered to bolshevism? In that measure in which we believed that it is a movement out of which will proceed the liberation of man, undoubtedly, certainly, we were wrong.

Experience now teaches that an anti-capitalist revolution and the realization of socialism appear to be two different things.

In order that the passage from the present to a society of free workers without any rulers should be possible and reasonable, there is beforehand another condition necessary than the abolition of the capitalists—there is necessary that in the whole industries the workers' influence must counterbalance that of the bosses, and by no means only by the workers' capacity for resistance or in a strike for higher wages, but by the workers' capacity to organize production and society. And when I speak of the workers' influence, I by no means want to say thereby the influence of some especially gifted individuals, coming from the workers' families and forming a sort of General headquarters of some newly formed trade-union (Continued on Page Two)



LOUISE MICHEL
1830 - 1905

Louise Michel Before the Court

I will not defend myself and I will not be defended. I belong body and soul to the social revolution and I take, without restriction, entire responsibility for all my acts.

I am told that I am guilty of having participated in the Commune. Of course I am. I consider it an honor to be considered one of its defenders. The Commune strove for the achievement of the social revolution and the social revolution is the most fervent of my hopes. I share all the ideas of my brothers in the Commune and I am ready to atone, just as they did, for my convictions; the Commune never murdered or stole. If there were assassinations or threats search for their author's among the police, among those who judge us. We wished for nothing but the triumph of the principles of the revolution. I swear it by the blood of our martyrs whom I acclaim from this place and who will some day be avenged.

What I demand of you who are soldiers, and who are my judges, is that you do not hide behind the Commission of Pardons.

I demand of you the field of Satory where my brothers have already been killed. I must be removed from the world. The judge has already said so. This commissioner of the Republic is right.

As long as every heart that beats for freedom has no other right than to hold a piece of lead, I demand my share too. If you let me live I shall not cease to shout for vengeance upon the murderers of my brothers. If you are not cowards, kill me.

THE NAZI and FASCIST MENACE

There are at present in the world, two countries which have introduced into their governmental system a most abominable reactionary policy that tends to exterminate all possible advance of civilizations that has destroyed all past achieved liberties, prohibited all means of propaganda by press or word of mouth, imprisoned some of the best fighters for liberty and killed some of the greatest agitators for the emancipation of mankind. Shall we as Anarchists agree with Comrade Polinow who states (See January issue, Page Three: Only One Real Enemy—Authority.) that we as Anarchists believe that all governments are in nature and character despotic and oppressive: that all other governments have repeatedly acted the same way, therefore, it is the Anarchist's object not to fight against Fascism in Italy, and its tendency of developing in other countries, but without deviating from our theory that all governments are alike in character to fight for one aim only—the abolition of all governmental forms of authority?

I believe that Comrade Polinow is entirely incorrect in his conclusions which are not proved by some of the authorities he quotes. He refers to the names of Malatesta and Bakunin as examples. These arguments are not justifiable, for these men lived their lives and acted quite the contrary. Malatesta, although at no time swerving from the idea that all governments are alike in character, struggled against any governmental attempt to infringe upon the already obtained liberties of the people, at the same time telling the people that as long as there will be governments in any form there can be no real liberty or human happiness. Bakunin even more so; For wherever the people were fighting for any rights or liberties, without one moment forgetting his final aim, the abolition of the state and the present system of economic monopoly, unhesitatingly remained by the side of the people aiding them in their fight.

Comrade Polinow further argues that Fascism and Nazism have been brought about through certain economic factors, in fact, the same factors that brought about monarchies in the past. I would say emphatically no! It is not correct. This is not claimed even by the strongest defenders of the economic determinists. Fascism and Nazism, we may also include the movement for the Proletarian dictatorship, have their roots, not in economic tendencies, but in the results of the disappointments of the workers with what has been done for them. The German revolution on the one hand and the great Russian revolution on the other. Considering what took place in those countries, the workers were not satisfied. They could see that they gave their life and blood for an empty phrase; That after the change they were practically in the same position as before. All they could see was a change of masters and that any attempt on the part of the workers in Germany against the basic principles of our present system of capitalism was ruthlessly opposed in the same way as during the Kaiser's reign. Military forces were used against the workers by the so called social Democratic Government with the same deadly results as before. The people were continually told that the only way to ameliorate their conditions was by the ballot box. Meanwhile the discontent of the people increased. When they saw the advance of the Nazi movement no attempt was made to retaliate or retard it. While various political parties were fighting one another the Nazi party was promising the people the coming millennium if they sent them to the Reichstag. Being brought up with the idea that only there lay their salvation they sent the Nazi party into the

Reichstag with the result that this power has even taken away from the people the meagre liberties they enjoyed before the Nazi Government had practically outraged civilization and surely retarded the march of human progress a century. It has surely delayed the coming brotherhood of man not only in Germany but in other countries as well. What took place in Germany made people contemplate upon many accepted theories and reconsider many conclusions. If it was possible for a group of Nazis to enslave such an intellectual nation as Germany with such a radically minded population what could a similar group do in other countries? It is worthwhile to stop and think about.

The menace of Fascism is surely even greater than Nazism. This destructive power does not intend to remain isolated and restricted to one country. Its tendency is to become a world movement and no doubt has already spread its deadly propaganda into many countries. Although not registering such results that may cause us great alarm, it cannot be denied that in many countries outside of Italy, Fascism is acutely felt.

The main aim and object of the Fascist movement is to deprive the people of their long achieved liberties: Liberties that cost the people dearly and was positively the life blood of radical movements. Without these liberties we will not be able to carry on our little work that we are able to do at present. It is true that in this country there is not as much liberty as is necessary for a free human natural development yet we do have a Constitutional guarantee for freedom of the press and the freedom of assembly. We have the right to congregate and express our ideals; to combine in trade and industrial unions; and through strikes compel our employers to treat us as human beings. I know and everyone will agree that in many and more than many cases, the U. S. Government uses its constabulary and its militia or regular army for quelling uprisings. We then protest against such governmental actions; for we feel that we have a right to ask the government to uphold the Constitution, which is the agreement the people made with the government after a hard and bloody struggle. We also know that in a majority of cases the Government ignores the people. It can also be shown that in some cases protests of the people have stopped governmental atrocities and even compelled them to give more liberty to the people. It greatly depends upon how great was the protesting power. The Fascist movement, the world over, tends to deprive the people even of these Constitutional rights. Italy is the best example. Italy had a great radical movement and several radical newspapers—what has become of them? Italy had a strong Syndicalist movement—where is it now? It is not necessary for me to state that Mussolini and his black shirts have totally destroyed them. I do not mean that they are destroyed forever, but at present they are inactive. A comparative few years after the war, that practically ruined the entire world, he succeeded in getting his people into a new war which will again slaughter the Italian and Ethiopian workers for no benefits of their own. All of this, Mussolini was able to do without hindrance because he is the entire controller of all sources of information and interpretation without any possible criticism upon what is being done.

The same thing may be said about Russia where another form of dictatorship is prevalent. It is a proletarian fascism. It may appear different and may use different terminology and other phrases but it possesses the same germ as the deadly germ that destroys liberty and develops dictators. The same tendency

to negate the individual and make a slave of him for the omnipotent state. Russia, as well as the other Fascist and Nazis countries, follows the road and uses the same methods against her opponents, such as: exile, death, no other press but the government press and no right to criticise anything or anybody. Whatever the government does must of necessity be good. The policy to keep the people fearful of invasion thereby building a strong army giving the army greater privileges than the workers thereby having the sympathy and support of the armed forces. In the advent of an emergency they may be used in the interests of dictatorship against any uprising on the part of the people to assert their rights. This policy of treating the military forces with more consideration was practised by all governments at all times. I think that the bonus paid to our veterans possesses the same identical aim.

After seeing the new tendency in modern capitalist countries and their attempts to prolong our decaying system of exploitation and government; in seeing their new devices in the struggle against the workers: in realizing the growth of that menace that threatens to take away what we have already attained with great effort and to say as Polinow does that the only real enemy is authority, therefore let us fight against that enemy never minding trivial evils would in my opinion be proverbially giving the devil a free hand for a very long time.

The object of the Anarchist at present is, as I understand it, to oppose, by all possible means, the advent of Fascism and Nazism in any and every country without failing to remember and emphasize that we are for the final abolition of the state, since the state is the basis and breeder of Fascistic and Nazistic doctrines in one form or another. Therefore I believe that Polinow has overlooked the great danger which threatens the Radical movement in failing to direct attention more vigorously to the great menace of Fascism and Nazism. This of course does not mean that we have to become hysterical about any one phase of the Nazi atrocities forgetting all others, but to fight against it in its entirety indefatigably.

ALEXANDER BROWN.

Chicory Corners Sees Need For Work

The land of Libertaria like the land of Bohemia often lies where you least expect to find it. And so the chance Rotarian visitor would never dream that Chicory Corners is an outpost of Liberty where Anarchism lies entrenched in dollars and cents, in brick and mortar for nearly half a city block.

My thoughts turn back to 1912 or thereabouts to West Lafayette boulevard, Detroit, where a group of free comrades used to dunk doughnuts in coffee at Potts' horseshoe luncheon next door to the *Detroit Free Press* office. Somebody high on the news editorial end of "Michigan's greatest daily" happened to form the habit of lunching *alongside* the dark and desperate anarchists. He listened and grew interested and their sound philosophy confirmed his inborn humanitarianism to the degree necessary for courageous action when the time and opportunity came.

The Michigan manufacturers had an association fascistic in its ideals. There were other reactionary groups and organizations ready to hold down the under-dog and the unfortunate of every type.

There came a great prison riot and with fearful citizens clamoring for repressive measures, few would have expected that reforms were nearing. But a great paper championed the cause of the prisoners for nearly an entire week, to the consternation of all the powers that be. At last the owner was reached by the fascists and the editorial swing in the humanitarian direction was curbed but evils and injustices had been exposed and Michigan was started on the road to becoming the most humane state in the Union.

These are dull days at Chicory Corners, but yesterday the friendly taximan asked for some more libertarian tracts. The young Irish comrade is out "on the road" somewhere. He could use a lot of literature in Eads-Hovian kaffeeklatches, hobo jungles, wobbly hangouts and flophouses. I'll be glad to pass it along to him if it is mailed to me.

The Glasgow radicals (Anti-Parliamentary unionists) have all been driven home by Old Man Depression. If I ever go to Glasgow I know I will find good friends to welcome me.

The New-Thought groups are dividing up and reforming for specific and practical studies along philosophical and metaphysical lines. The shadow of the Ow Gwong Tong still broods over Chou Plaza but there are quieter rendezvous where you may come closer, much closer, to Old-Boy-of-Chinaland if you happen to admire Lao Tze's "Simple Way." The Zeitgeist moves over the waters and the roots of the pond-lilies bud into new life. Someday the White Iris of Freedom will be acclaimed beside the murky waters of the Canadian Thames. It is a quaint tradition, fanciful, poetical, but it has persisted a long time.

But there is work to be done. There are schools to be kept free of flag-saluting nonsense, jingoism to be kept out of textbooks, sterilization cranks and other eugenist crack-brains to be kept from treating human unfortunates like guinea pigs in a laboratory. There must be propagated the doctrine of readiness to rock any ship of state that tends to become a slave-galley, to upset any authority that rests on force and deliberate violence or bloodshed. There are laws made by doddering idiots to be repealed and educational movements to obviate the apparent need for any new laws. The road to adult race consciousness has been reached and we must march fearlessly with all true comrades, whatever their creed, or school, or color, or race.

NEILS TURNSPUR.

Kings and emperors are surprised and horrified when one of themselves is murdered, and yet the whole of their activities consists in managing murder and preparing for murder.

—LEO TOLSTOI.

Anarcho-Bolsheviks Who Changed Their Minds

(Continued from Page One)

central body, who can only be would-be tyrants. I want to say, the influence of the workers themselves, of the workers in every factory. What is necessary is that the workers should form an association which is equal to the other classes, in its aspect of cohesion, and which must surpass the ruling classes in its human value.

One says quite rightly that the peoples have that liberty which they deserve. Socialism is real liberty. We can not merit this if we are not cultivating incessantly within the workers a higher dignity, a true fraternity, and tolerance.

Capitalism has brought us to such a state of the world that we are probably on the eve of the most horrible bloodshed within which it will not always be easy to distinguish between "civil war" and "foreign war." Let us aim to limit the catastrophe. And the first, the most elementary, basic principle in order to be able to do it, we must keep highest that which seems unimportant to the whole world's respect before the human being and his as well as her life! Because this simple idea is the only foundation upon which a society of liberty, justice and welfare for all can thrive.

Which theory, short of Anarchism, does teach a real respect before the human being, before man, his autonomy and independence? None. Anarchism is the only idea which renders complete sovereignty of individuality, thereby annihilating the privilege of being a ruler, which means to be the destroyer of individual liberty, thereby losing all respect before the majority of the free, untrammelled human personality.

Only the education of the workers on the basis of Anarchism can bring them to this profound truth and truism:

If authority is right, then every ruler who gains power for attaining rulership, is right, because then power is right; but as authority is wrong by thwarting free individuality, degrading man to be a slave, therefore no rulership of any sort or name can be right. Thus all, who believe in any sort of rule or authority, are the best vindication of rulership. And naturally enough, such a belief tends to strengthen the most inconsiderate, the most reckless one, the fascistic one. Because, the weaker an authority is, the more it shows its impotency, which leads to the erroneous fiction within the people that a strong authority

would be more potent. Thus the belief in authority, its vindication in whatever way, inevitably always leads to fascism. Therefore democracy must be the forerunner of ever recurring fascism, until authority as such is uprooted by Anarchy which alone can give true liberty and thereby economic welfare for all. The latter is in itself the only and strongest bulwark against fascism, any recrudescence of it.

Only Anarchism cannot be entangled in contradiction, because it is in itself no compromise with any contradiction. It teaches simply:

The absence of power and rule of man over man creates naturally the Condition of Right between men within society. Therefore Anarchism is also against any kind of workers-government, be it even called "workers-council." Because this also is government, and any good what it can give is thousand-fold more embodied in the capacity of the productive organizations of society and free association; while the worst what all forms of government must yield, being always an organization of the worst within man, i. e. its atavistic desire to rule, to dominate, to subdue, to exploit—all these elements can never come to power within the individual, if there is no government. Therefore, the abolition of government is the emancipation of society and the unfolding of the best qualities within man for the highest development of human culture.

If the former renegates would have kept to this recognition of facts in the fateful years since 1917 and 1918, if they would have realized the facts of life and politics from that standpoint of Anarchism, facts as they were, and as will be as long as government exists—if Anarchism would have had a "united front" of support of all those who suddenly turned bolshevik and syndicalist—such a united front, not of muddleheads, but of consistent anarchists, it could and would have stemmed the tide of fascism. Nay, fascism would never have been born, if Anarchism had been strong enough rooted within the workers, the masses, if it had not been artificially weakened.

Let those who have eyes see, let those who have ears hear! Let us prepare for the next great upheaval with greater clarity of mind, unity of action and honesty of character, than the one of 1917 - 18 has found the social movement.

PIERRE RAMUS.

THE MOTIVATING IDEA BEHIND ANARCHISM

Men fight for several reasons but they generally strive to maintain the means by which they make their livelihood. Often these means are of such nature as to induce men to fight for unworthy causes and thus become reactionary. Lack of knowledge and imagination, or confidence, explain the continual opposition to social change always part of the make-up of the so-called upper classes. Just or unjust are secondary considerations what interests men is that by such and such a method their livelihood seems assured and they generally use all the forces at their command to retain the status quo. It is unusual to see men relinquish sinecures.

In an age of scarcity men fought for the necessities of life. With the progress of industry this meant a fight for localities, for livestock, for territory, for manufacturing privileges, trade privileges, and for markets, depending on whether hunting, herding, agriculture, manufacture, or commerce were predominating phases of industrial life. But as soon as men labored for their well-being the fight led directly to the idea of slavery. For if men could be enslaved they could be robbed without fighting.

The outcome of the fight for supremacy was a class society corresponding to which were two mental attitudes—a master attitude and a slave attitude. The master, in order to be a master, had to depend on himself to plan his way in life. The slave, having his duties determined by the master, developed a dependent attitude and formed the habit of looking up to authority.

Victors in the struggle, the master class found power and glory virtues; the slave, on the other hand, found submission and meekness aids to his peace. Drudging for his livelihood, the slave soon identified physical labor with his well-being. But to the exploiting master, work was a sign of mediocrity and inferiority. The hierarchy in the master class rested on power and affluence, among the slaves on proximity of service to the master. The master had leisure to develop a culture, the slave was necessarily ignorant due to lack of opportunities. The master was the more creative, his energies were directed toward play and show, he possessed a dignity and self-respect far greater than the slave to whom culture seemed a needless appendage. The master was cunning and shrewd, losing these qualities only after years of affluence. He could be admired but not loved; the slave could be pitied but not admired. The master could often be feared, the slave seldom.

Between these two classes, and with the growth of manufacture and commerce, there arose an intermediate class whose affluence depended on personal ingenuity and ability, in whose attitude entered little of either the master or slave psychology but who clearly saw that their well-being depended on the freedom to exercise their abilities. Often of pioneer element because of the necessary effort of breaking away from old traditions, it was this class that was the motivating force behind the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century.

Revolutionary movements are generated by individuals from all three classes caused by aims that range all the way from a change of human values to a desire for something to eat and wear. The more elemental the form of society the more the material element predominates as the principal factor causing social revolution. Hence from the aristocracy comes those to whom the crass inequalities, injustices, and meanness in life injures their cultural sensibilities. From the middle class comes those interested in equitable exchanges. From the slave class come those interested in physical well-being irrespective of how it is to be obtained. Of course this class distinction is more or less arbitrary for no such pigeon-holing, considering the overlapping complexities in interests, exists in actual life.

Be all this as it may, it is commonly recognized that these three psychological attitudes are features of modern society, exemplified by the three classes—the exploited, known in America as the "wage slave," and in Europe as the proletariat, the middle class known in Europe as the bourgeoisie, and the upper or ruling element known in modern industrial society as "the capitalist class." The proletariat hates the two upper classes, the capitalist class despises those under them, and the middle class is out of sympathy with and fears them both. In America, even with a preponderance of "wage slaves" and with the middle class gradually diminishing, a middle class psychology predominates with a "get something for nothing" complex running through the entire fabric of economic life.

In America the characteristics peculiar to each of these classes are distinguished by their actions. The "wage slave" who would feel insulted if so designated does not know what to do with himself when out of work. His ambitions are stunted, he has little creative ability hence no hobby, he is unreflective, uncritical, and unresourceful. Used to taking orders and otherwise being directed, he has little self-reliance and aggressiveness, preferring to go along with the herd. He does not know how to enjoy himself, if and when leisure or temporary affluence should give him an opportunity to develop himself culturally he usually fails to do so. His closest approach to culture is to ape the wealthy. A "job" is all he wants having become to identify drudgery with his well-being.

The middle class man has the strive and succeed complex. Not so affluent as to obviate careful calculation of expenditures, yet he frequently finds enough to spend on what his unfortunate brother might call unnecessary—books, concerts, lectures, and maybe vacation trips. He often makes a special study of some particular thing, has a hobby or two—photography, a home shop, social activities. He tries to be "respectable" and to live within his means. If you are an American you know him well.

The rich, while having a passion for money-making, make epicureanism a business also. If newly rich their antics are comic but if their riches have been of slower accumulation they often have acquired some genuine culture. They often give liberally to causes which they may but faintly appreciate—education, charity, or the opera. But they possess a snobbishness that generally precludes their having broad social sym-

pathies.

Nevertheless, from all these classes, persons with revolutionary tendencies do emerge, differing in the nature and scope of their ideas, it is true, but with a genuine desire for fundamental changes in society ranging all the way from a change in social attitudes to changes in material conditions.

Learning from their masters, revolutionists from the slave class are, like them, often ruthless and in their hearts tyrants too. Motivated by two feelings—power and security—such a revolutionist is not interested in liberty and willingly subscribes to any dictatorship or to any paternalistic scheme that promises work and security. It is not necessary to get off his neck if he be but taken care of. It is to this class that the Rooseveltian dole system appeals to, an example of which is those farmers who eagerly acquiesce in receiving bribes from the AAA. Not being able to raise his thoughts from his physical needs, the slave fights only from necessity. He necessarily adopts a materialistic philosophy, indeed, as the only true philosophy. He tries to prove work, as such, noble. Circumstances have made him ignorant, credulous, and incompetent. It is from this class that Marxian Socialism avowedly, and so-called share-the-wealth schemes tacitly recruit their adherents. Communism and paternalistic schemes are the slaves' solution to the economic and social problem. Sentimentalism and a begging attitude often tinged with arrogance. In the interval before he sees an opportunity to achieve his aims, the communist is interested in unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and anything in the nature of "security legislation." It is difficult to stop this sort of thing—arbitrary robbery of some people for the benefit of others, by the State—especially when many of the recipients are the flunkies of those in power, exploited dupes, soldiers, policemen, and, of course, the bureaucrats—men of uniform. (Uniform itself is a sign of servility—that a man belongs to an organization.) Slave-minded revolutionists are humorously referred to as "belly revolutionists." Hate is their guiding revolutionary force and dictatorial powers their goal.

The middle class is interested more in economic opportunities and equitable exchanges. They are more individualistic in the sense of letting the individual work out his own economic salvation. Money reform is the predominating feature of their economic proposals. Taking an intermediate position between the upper and lower classes, philosophically, they are more "conservative" than the proletarian and more "radical" than the capitalist. "Justice" and "Liberty" might be their revolutionary watchwords.

Revolutionists from the master class are avowedly idealistic, their proposals coming from their sentiments rather than from

physical need. Their proposals frequently have a religious tinge.

In the light of the preceding sketchy analysis, and for what it is worth, we may judge the motivating ideas behind anarchism. While anarchism recruits its adherents from every economic and social predicament, it never enlists persons with a slave complex. The anarchist is more of the master temperament, demanding, however, complete authority only over things and matters which are his own concern. He is willing to grant his neighbor equal authority in his respective realm.

There are four great anarchists, distinct in the emphasis of their views, whose opinions may throw some light on the range of anarchistic thought. Nietzsche appeals to the aristocratic in man, Proudhon to his sense of justice, Kropotkin to his generosity, and Tolstoy to his sympathy and mercy, and will to abstain from cruelty. Nietzsche was opposed to the State because it hampered making strong characters, Proudhon because it was the essence of tyranny, Kropotkin because it exploited the weak, Tolstoy because it was based on violence. Nietzsche thought it futile to cater to the slave-minded. Proudhon thought that slave-mindedness would disappear with the inauguration of equity in exchanges, Kropotkin appealed to the slave to free himself, Tolstoy that slavery was to disappear by the practice of brotherly love—by a process of inducement rather than compulsion. The first two appealed more to logic; the latter to sentiment. Nietzsche felt content to lead the way, let those follow who will or can. He would neither drag nor coerce them. If some choose to be slaves that was none of his concern. After all it is a contradiction in terms to say that a man may be a voluntary slave.

Anarchism will be seen to be an idealistic philosophy in the sense that it believes freedom will come from the conscious activity of men. No automatic process is to bring it about. Moreover it is individualistic too, in more sense than one. For one thing, its initial success rests on the activity and feelings of individuals—it will necessarily be a minority movement, and a very small minority, for many years to come. Anarchism is propagated by men who hold self-mastery—the right of the individual to determine his own way in life—above all other so-called social considerations.

LAURANCE LABADIE.

Despite Nietzsche's hatred toward the State and Christ idea, he equally propounded the reign of an aristocracy upon the backs of the enslaved. As such, it is quite a puzzle, as to how Comrade Labadie comes to include him as an anarchist.
M. G.

Civilization Marches On

Words are inadequate to picture the gruesome scene of terrified Africans running aimlessly under a fusillade of machine-gun bullets that are hailing upon them from airplanes, ripping their bellies and crashing the skulls with modern explosives and chemicals. One must shudder with fright thinking of the infernal desert in which thousands upon thousands of them are left bleeding to death by a rapacious enemy; one must be filled with nauseating disgust at the mental sight of the wild carrion birds swooping down on the head and wounded Ethiopians, shooting their sharp beaks into the very vitals of the god-forsaken carcasses.

And yet the commander of the victorious Italian army has the smug audacity to tell his chief Benito that Roman civilization is successfully being guided by him into the deserts of Ethiopia.

And thousands of Roman students are dancing in the streets for joy.

War is war, of course. No sane person expects a war battle to be performed by throwing chrysanthemums at one another. But when a degenerate and demoralized race as that living in the 20th century has the impertinence to massacre innocent men and women and children in the name of civilization its hypocrisy goes beyond the bounds of shamelessness.

* * *

"I saw," describes Robert Ingersoll, "what they call the Collar of Torture. That was a circle of iron, and on the inside a hundred points almost as sharp as needles. It was fastened about the throat of the sufferers. Then he could not walk, nor sit down nor stir without the neck being punctured by these points. In a little while the throat would begin to swell, and suffocation would end the agonies of that man."

That occurred during the Christian Inquisition when men were forced to crouch before a wooden image and confess a belief in the gewgaw as the symbol of Omnipotence.

Way down where tall gentlemen preach moral decency and send little Negro girls to pick the cotton fields for them, they have what is known as the chain-gang system for criminals. Human wretches, whom the courts of justice pronounce guilty of misbehavior against the established order of society, are chained together in long platoons, and driven by the lash and crow-bar, are forced to build roads and do all such hard labor that only the mass slavery of primitive dynasties can be matched with it.

And here is where one sees how human beings, reputable members of our silk-era civilization, treat other human beings once they have the misfortune of turning recalcitrant. When the chain-gang convicts are finally dragged off the stone piles or timber logs they are then being subjected to all the tortures inflicted upon people in the days of the Inquisition. Like trapped mice they are thrown in cells, isolated from everybody in the world; not a ray of light can penetrate into the dark and clamped-down cages. Gloomy are their nights as miserable are their days. No hope is there for anyone who chanced to darken these living tombs. Occasionally some do go mad with rage to grasp despairingly for the impregnable iron bars, hoping

vainly for some heavenly star to brighten up their damnable souls, but must fall back in hopeless abandon, for there is no hope to doomed men. Occasionally, too, one dares to yelp out like a maddened dog against his tormentors but then he immediately invokes upon himself the added punishment of being placed in a "sweat-box," fitted with an iron collar which is fastened about his neck (note the similarity to the Collar of Torture) and stocks on his feet. In this manner he can neither sit nor lie down, and very often the scoundrel gasps out his last breath from exhaustion and suffocation."

And that brings to mind the horrifying picture of twenty Negroes, convicts of the chain-gang system in Alabama State, who, shackled together like prisoners in medieval days, were trapped on a prison truck and burned to death when the vehicle caught fire.

Hallelujah to you, mighty civilization.

* * *

We read of captive slaves under primitive kings that were employed for mass labor by their captors; of vassals who fealty served their lords in field and in battle to earn a share of the crop. But those slaves, arduous and humiliating as their lot was, were freedmen when compared with the serfs of our 20th century. At least the king took care his slave be properly housed and fed—for his own benefit, of course. At least the feudal lord offered protection to the vassal who served him with obedience and devotion.

The serfs (workers) of today likewise build the castles, plod the mines and turn the wheels for their profit-grabbing lords (capitalists); they too, like their prototypes of centuries back, are kept in bondage. And when the bugle sounds the war cry they too leave all behind and run to the battlefield to defend their lords' estates. But what do they get in return? A mere pittance for themselves and families, a wage scale barely enough to keep alive, while their lords partake of all the comforts and luxuries which the profits, accumulated from the sweat of the toiling masses, can get.

And that is not all, when these masses, being entirely dependent on a corrupted system of economic manipulation, are thrown out of work or otherwise denied the privilege of earning the measly living wage, their lot is definitely sealed; they either must starve, commit suicide—as some find it very comfortable—or stoop to the ignominy of accepting relief, which is the modern, up-to-date form of begging alms—a disgrace shunned by men of all ages.

Yet the air is filled with political chatter about social recon-

And we talk of social justice.

And babble about "peace on earth and good-will among men."

And, "The Music goes 'Round an' Round—Whoa-ho-ho—"

Civilization marches on!

SAMUEL POLINOW.

**A few years ago this very thing happened to a youth, an inmate of a State prison in Jacksonville, Florida.*

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

It's Been Happening All Along

Our liberal-mouthed press is all stirred up about the now admitted fact that Will Hays, the self-appointed Censor Czar of the movie industry, has simply decreed that Sinclair Lewis's book "It Can't Happen Here" should be shelved as a film subject. Since the book was a warning of the imminent danger of a fascist regime that threatens to engulf also this country, the action of Mr. Hays only tends to substantiate the warning of Sinclair Lewis. News has since reached here that Berlin and Rome, where Fascism and Nazism reign supreme, feel elated at the action of Hollywood.

What has happened to the book of Sinclair Lewis has been happening all along in Hollywood. Other scripts as *Forty Days of Muss Dagb*, *Paths to Glory*, and many other discarded scripts. Every movie that emerges out of the office of that former rankest of cheap politicians—Will Hays has been cut out of its most vital parts, chiefly those that deal with economic, political or religious wrongs.

The same sort of censorship, perhaps to a lesser degree, is in force on the stage. Infamous ruled Boston has been most active along this line, so has crime-ridden Chicago and Fordized Detroit. The much ballyhooed Federal Arts project revealed its true carcass when Mr. Jacob Baker, erstwhile associate editor to be of Harry Kelly's now defunct *Freedom*, and now chief art administrator, forced the well known playwright Elmer Rice to resign as head of the New York branch in protest against his censorial decree upon *The Living Newspaper*, when it planned to dramatize the Ethiopian-Italian drama, as well as the share-croppers' and unemployed's plight.

Out in Indiana the Governor of that state has simply turned his governmental machinery into an open weapon for aiding the exploiters of human labor to defeat every strike of the workers. It is now being charged that there is not a single county left in that State where the "governor" has not invoked martial law soon as the workers went out on strike. The latest one now going on is one where workers' wages were cut 45%, reducing the wages of men to five dollars per week! In Georgia another "governor" declared martial law, as also established "concentration camps" for strikers on the style of Hitler! In South Dakota a relief administrator decreed that striking workers (at the Morrell packing plant) refusing to accept jobs at the wage-scale offered to them will be cut off from relief! In the "golden state" of reaction—California—Roy S. Stockton, chief of the State Employment Bureau has just established a Compulsory Draft System whereby to utilize all those on relief for supplying harvest labor at whatever the exploiters of labor will be willing to give! (It should be born in mind that relief workers send last year to the hop-fields could not earn more than fifty cents a day . . .)

What is the answer being given by those against whom these attacks of injustice and outraging of every principle of freedom is being perpetrated? The teachers are, only to a marked degree, fighting back bravely and honorably. But as a whole, by the calling in which they are in, as educators, they are not putting forth the needed resistance of defiance that necessity demands now. The workers, considering the fact that they are being ruled by a far from sincere clique of labor leaders, are making again and again heroic attempts to resist the onslaughts upon them by the exploiters and governmental institutions. Pekin, Illinois, witnessed a two day general strike last month that completely tied up the entire city. Basically, economic in cause, it was nevertheless aimed at the brutality of the city chief of police and its tear gas and blackjack brigade of vultures. This month witnesses a sudden darkening of the lights of El Paso, Texas. The darkening was sudden indeed, but not the strike that lead to it. A power and Electric company that has been hounding its unionized workers, a labor board that layed off again and again in enforcing its decisions, finally forced the workers to declare a strike in order to save their union. Now the governmental authorities are busy at work in aiding the company to break the strike. In the metropolitan city of the country the elevator service men and women after months and months of pleading for a living wage have finally been forced to come out in a general strike. The ferocious "liberal" mayor La Guardia is now proving beyond the shadow of any doubt the true metal of his liberalism. He invoked a menacing health ordinance through which he is given the excuse to utilize the police department in order to aid that over one hundred thousand men, women and children should not be enabled to earn a living wage.

The omen of these outbreaks by the workers, against the wishes and advises of their labor misleaders, denotes a tendency that should be greeted and encouraged by every lover of justice and freedom. The immediate future actions of the great mass of workers and sincere educators of the country will decide whether this land is to be turned into a fascist and nazi strait-jacket Hell or strike out for itself a real path that shall

lead to the utter collapse of the pro-fascist, pro-nazist and present existing system of exploitation and rulership.

The crucial test for labor and all true believers in justice and freedom is at hand. To the extent that every liberty-loving man and woman shall be willing to fight for these principles—to that extent only will these triumph and bring at last the long sought-for happiness that mankind is seeking.

War, Statesmen and Civilization

This scene took place way back in 1918: Half a dozen youths and a girl were seized on the streets of New York city and rushed to the secret cellar chambers of the then infamous "bomb", and presently "radical", squad of the Police department. There, the "law and order" brigade began its "heroic" work upon the defenceless victims. Blackjacks and fists, brass-knuckles and rubber-hoses fell upon the bodies of the youths. When the inhuman lawful beasts tired in the use of their fists, the victims were thrown on the floor, kicked and spit upon until they were half unconscious as to what was being done to them. This sadistic spectacle—devoid of common decency, shame, self-respect, honesty, courage or human feeling was the punishment meted out to this youthful group that saved their last pennies in order to establish a little printing machine, and upon which they ran off a leaflet denouncing the "war for democracy" that Woodrow Wilson had carried this country into, and also against the intervention in which this country was participating with the allies in order to crush the then arising revolution in Russia. Within a few weeks after the vultures' orgy upon this youthful group of idealists, one of them, *Jacob Schwartz*, died in Prison as a result of the beatings inflicted upon him. The others—*Jacob Abrams*, *Hyman Lachovsky*, *Jacob Lippman* and *Mollie Steimer* were sentenced to 20 years imprisonment by an "honorable" judge who had the impudence to insult the victims at every turn of the trial's procedure. After serving two years imprisonment, Woodrow Wilson commuted their prison terms, so, that Mr. Palmer could rush them on the *Bufford special* that cast out of the country hundreds of anarchists in 1921.

I was reminded of this occurrence, destined to take its permanent place in any true history of the struggle for freedom in United States when reading the few important revelations that have been allowed to become public during the recent hearings of the Nye investigation committee on war. In particular I was rejoicing in the revelation that proved beyond the shadow of any doubt that Woodrow Wilson who posed as the "great democrat" bringing this country into the last world war in order "to make the world safe for democracy", was nothing less than a sheer mountebank and falsifier, since he knew very well of the secret documents that he professed years after not to have been aware of at all in 1917! Thus, eighteen years after the vandalistic orgy has been enacted upon the youthful group of idealists—all anarchists—excepting *Jacob Lippman*, their action in denouncing Woodrow Wilson stands fully vindicated and justified, whilst that of Wilson, Palmer, McAdoo, Glass and all the other office boys of the financiers of the world stand covered with shame and deceit upon themselves.

The second interesting spectacle enacted before the Nye committee was the appearance of Mr. Morgan. According to the editor of the *New York Times* (which is unofficial but nevertheless the recognized organ of Wall Street) Mr. Morgan acquitted himself as a most honorable citizen. Too bad that the editor of the *Times* does not read what his own reporters have written and which belies his certificate of purity bestowed upon the head of Mr. Morgan. Ray Tucker writes from Washington under the date of February 7 in the same *N. Y. Times*:

Acting as fiscal agents for Great Britain and France, the Morgan company placed large orders for arms and munitions. The Morgan firm had established \$3,000,000,000 of foreign credits in the United States before this country entered the war. The firm's profits amounted to \$30,000,000 . . . In this record the committee members profess to see slow, steady pressure by the bankers to force the government to cast its lot with allied borrowers . . . To support this contention, the committee cited numerous memoranda by Mr. McAdoo, Mr. Lansing, the bankers and our diplomats abroad. Many of these emphasized that a serious economic crisis would befall the United States if allied purchasing power were permitted to dry up through want of American credits.

The reader can see how truthful the *N. Y. Times* editor has been. Mr. Morgan's patriotism and honesty consisted then in the great sacrifice he made by pocketing a mere thirty million dollars! And the purity of motive by Woodrow Wilson and his administration can no longer be doubted, either. The tens of thousands of our war victims need now feel quite at ease. They had sacrificed indeed for a holy cause—the cause of the bankers' profits.

Just when the Nye committee had begun to unfold the real acts of deceit by the statesmen and the bankers, the Roosevelt administration gave its order to cut off any finances which were necessary to keep the investigation in completing its work. After huge protests from many parts of the country a meagre sum was allotted on condition that no further revelations on the governmental statesmen's acts of deceit be disclosed.

Perhaps the incident that will go down in history as the most brazen statement of impudency ever made in public was the one uttered by Mr. Morgan when he said: "if you destroy the leisure class—you destroy civilization"! It would be giving too much credit to this supper-patriot in blood-profiteering to grant him this brazen claim. If he meant that what passes today for civilization: Masquaraders of democracy as Wilson or Roosevelt, defenders of liberty as Hoover and Smith, press

liars as Hearst or the *N. Y. Times*, the preachers of the pulpit and synagogue, Broadway or Hollywood—then he was right.

Only, there is, as there always has been, a minority that has and always had an entirely different conception as to what constitutes genuine civilization. A world where none of the charlatanic coterie of statesmen and bankers, press or pulpit liars shall any longer be able to hold sway. A world where idealism will not be recompensed as was Jacob Schwartz and his fellow comrades, but instead be honored for exposing any attempted acts of deceit by any one within the society they live in.

What we have today is not Civilization but EVILIZATION. And the sooner the mass of mankind realizes the urgent need of throwing off their backs the whole paraphernalia of statesmen and bankers with their supporting props of Government and Exploitation, Press and Pulpit liars of the *Daily Newspapers* and Church, the decoyful swindle of Broadway and Hollywood, all this that passes today for art, the sooner this kind of "civilization" is destroyed, that much sooner will the dawn of genuine CIVILIZATION unfold its wide new era that shall enable mankind to enjoy labor as well as leisure, have art instead of commercial substitutes, love instead of hatred, peace instead of war, free men instead of caged and regulated slaves of a class of leasured inhuman sharks as we are now being ruled and exploited by.

Another Crucial Test For Spain

When the first upheaval in Spain during 1931 brought to an end the terror regime of Primo de Rivera many were lead to believe that it would terminate in a genuine triumph for economic and political liberty. Perhaps due to the uncertainty of not having enough faith in themselves, the oppressed people of Spain allowed the whole thing to simmer down, thereby giving the much sought for chance to the republican and socialist politicians to scramble between themselves for political supremacy.

The year of 1932-1933 witnessed heroic attempts of the workers to inaugurate libertarian communism, principally in Catalonia. The coalition republican-socialist reigning regime of Azana-Cabellero saw to it that these should be drawn in blood. Who shall ever be able to forget the complete slaughter of Casa Viejas? The defeat of the revolutionary attempts brought also in turn defeat to the Azana—Caballero regime, most of whom were afterwards, ironically enough, made to suffer somewhat by the very same laws which they framed in order to defeat the real aims of the revolutionary workers. So it came about that the last named should be found in 1934 forming a new alliance, this time with the Catalanian Esquerra. Luis Companys, the leader of the latter—betrayed the uprising 48 hours later, and only the revolutionary miners of Asturias carried on one of the most heroic battles in the history of revolutionary struggles, a struggle that lasted for months and had cost the workers thousands of victims. The coalition uprising, deserted first by its leaders, came to an abortive end, and resulted in the imprisonment of over 50,000 workers and twice that many thrown out of their jobs.

Slowly, but in no uncertain terms, the seemingly crushed revolutionary spirit of the workers of Spain began to assert itself. The cry all over Spain rang forth: Free The Political Prisoners! Re-instate The Workers Who Lost Their Jobs! Land Reforms!

Once again the politicians who so ignominiously betrayed the 1934 uprising began to emerge from their hiding places. The new seething rebellion was to serve them as a new design through which to gain power for themselves. The joint butchers of the Casa Viejas Massacre—Azana and Caballero, plus the renegade anarcho-syndicalist Pestana following, created a united front. The slogans which the masses raised were picked up by them as the platform which they promised to fulfill.

The election on February 17 gave this new republican-socialist-communist coalition a slight majority by which it gained power.

But the people were in no mood to wait until March the 16 for the convening of the Cortez. On February the 18 thousands of workers began to assemble in protest against the continued incarceration of their fellow revolutionists—right in front of the leading prison at Madrid. The next day protests against the continued imprisonment of the 50,000 social war prisoners, and rioting within every prison of the country, became known: Wardens and guards were being killed and prison doors shattered. Thus it came about that the newly elected left regime should be forced to grant complete political amnesty even before the Cortez would meet to "deliberate".

It was not the election that brought this about, but the direct rebellious deeds of the workers outside of and within the jails.

The freeing of the political prisoners was followed by the immediate demand for re-instatement of all those who lost their positions by the black-list and with full retroactive pay for all time lost. Significantly, to say the least, is the fact that the employers agreed to grant the demands whilst the Azana leftist regime kept utter silence about its promise made before the election!

Again then it was direct revolutionary action and not the political election that won the day. Thus history repeats itself once again. For exactly similar things happened during the revolutions of France: The newly arisen reigning powers never granted legally more than the people were ready to take themselves!

The crucial test for the revolutionary movement in Spain is close at hand. The rightist reactionary wing that opposed Azana is already willing to support him in order to save the present system. Thus the show of political deceit is to be enacted anew, that is, if the revolutionary people of Spain will (Continued on Page Five)

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ANARCHISTS: Luigi Fabbri, Educator

Luce Fabbri

It is not possible to write of him today with the cold language of the historian. Only to mention some remembrances of the man's character can a daughter break her silence. But even this is not easy, restricted as I am by that natural modesty of his, which rendered him so reluctant to speak of anything relating to himself personally; that same modesty which made him appear a man of ideas rather than of sentiment, a calm thinker rather than a passionate fighter for liberty.

I shall simply speak, now, of that constant realization of an ideal in an enthusiastic soul and in its sphere of irradiation.

We were children, then, the children of Mr. Fabbri, the school teacher, as they called us in Rome, and we used to tell the other children, with pride, that our father was an anarchist, which made their parents smile a bit and remark skeptically that the idea was too beautiful and sublime to realize: "How can the people live without a government? Who would defend us from robbers and assassins?"

Of course, we couldn't answer such questions, so young as we were; we understood our father's ideas only vaguely. But the enormous difference between the outside world and the atmosphere of our home, where often gathered our best comrades, compelled us to perceive intuitively that the current life was neither the best nor the only possible. Our little friends, for instance, only obeyed thru fear of punishment or thru a desire of recompense; they needed a government, an authority. That wasn't the case with our family. We didn't have to obey our parents, as long as we had been taught that all compulsion was unnecessary and harmful.

I still remember of my bitter tears behind the Persian blinds ajar on a hot Summer day. I have now forgotten what I wanted, but it certainly was some violent, unreasonable desire. My father said: "I wouldn't advise you such a thing", giving good reasons, but without insisting much. Nevertheless, I felt I was the victim of an injustice and kept crying and hiding my face in the window. My father realized that, came to me and, laying his hand on my head, spoke: "Do as you please, my child. Think it over and decide for yourself. I shall say no more."

My disillusion was almost instantaneous; my drama was shattered; my whim faded away. I answered: "No, I obey." I uttered that word unconsciously, through a habit, I believe, acquired at school (not my father's), but at once I realized my error. "No, dear, you haven't understood me," corrected my father, "that isn't what I wish. You know, you must not obey. You must behave as you think right, on your own responsibility, after serious reflection. I can only assist you in reasoning, but you yourself have to choose."

He never gave a book or a toy to any one of us individually, and suffered if he heard us say of anything: "This is mine." Knowing his loving and sincere disposition, we trusted him so that he had only to utter: "That book is not yet fit for you; it would make you tired," or "it would do you no good; you'd better wait" to induce us to follow his precious advice as a doctor's or a real friend's.

Children seem to understand justice before they do kindness.

Each of us thought to have been wronged when the other fellow enjoyed a privilege—be it a pastime, a toy or a mere scrap of paper. Our principle was equality of condition and treatment. And father, even though he would sadly recline his head or make fun of our childish disputes, invariably respected our rights. Some time later however, guided, not by his words, but by the example of his daily life, we convinced ourselves that peace and brotherhood are derived from love rather than from justice and that, at least morally, the more you give, the more you get. So, without preaching or debates, we perceived the human nobleness of the slogan we used to hear during the animated discussion held occasionally in our



LUIGI FABBRI
(Dec. 22, 1877 - June 24, 1935)

little studio: "To each according to their needs, from each according to their giving power."

The almost sudden dawning upon us of the significance of that principle rendered our lives more simple and beautiful, stopping our foolish quarrels about "mine" and "yours." Of course, we thought we had reached such stage by ourselves. Only now do I understand that it was the assistance of our dearest friend, our beloved father, that mainly contributed to the formation of our character without forcing it. He left us free and alone, seeking, at the same time, to make us every day more, not like him, but like our own selves.

His ideas he loved with a great ardor and a marvelous steadfastness, notwithstanding the savage adversities inherent to any struggle against the general course of life. Living in continuous spiritual communion with humanity, the hardest blow to his health was the news of the tragedies, crimes and heroisms convulsing Europe and the world. But his faith in a better future for every human being never died. Indeed, the walls of our little home seemed to vanish at times and all the winds of the horizon come to kindle that great flame of love and goodness that, although concealed under a perfect serenity, he translated into reasoned action whenever humanly possible. After the

disaster caused by the great war, Luigi Fabbri maintained the calmness of the educator—before his pupils in the school, with his family at home, at his desk in the studio.

His love for equal liberty had its roots in a jealous respect for the human personality. His teaching to youth never did he transform into propaganda. Yet, no propaganda could be more effective than the atmosphere he created around him. He smiled when I, at eight years of age, declared seriously that I was an anarchist just as he was, and affectionately he admonished that every human individual should form their own conviction and never adopt somebody else's ideas blindly, not even one's own father's. He advised me to wait, let the enthusiasm mature through experience and reflection, before assuming a definite position, which always implies a great moral responsibility not to be dropped lightly. He did not want us to believe in the ideas he was convinced of. "My convictions," he used to say, "prove nothing to you."

At school he often advised: "Never believe what your teacher tells you as a truth or the assertions contained in one book. Listen, read intelligently and diligently, then compare the diverse opinions with one another and try to reach conclusions of your own."

Not one word should ever be uttered in his class about the fierce struggle going on in the streets between the Black Shirts and the forces of Liberty. The unleashed hatreds should not perturb, in a place of education, the souls of those whom he tried to start in life as future free and civilized beings.

When nearly all the school teachers, in order to retain their positions, urged the boys to enlist in the Opera Nazionale Balilla, in my father's class there were only two enrolled in the beginning of the year; three months later, not one. The fascist distinctives disappeared from their buttonholes after two or three days' lessons. And all that without direct words, without a discussion. The unusual consideration they realized in their teacher for their personalities developed in them the individual values that kept them away from the servile gregariousness which the official fascist instruction aimed at.

My father's anarchism might, in a sense, be called humanistic, as long as he was a staunch champion, not only of strictly political liberty and of everybody's right to a living, but also of the cultural heritage acquired by the persevering man's effort throughout the ages, despite the crushing, uninforming weight of state authority. His classic education had infused in him the taste for those frequent intellectual plunges into the past which invigorate the spirit during the gloomy intervals of the strife. To him culture meant unceasing development, perennial endeavor toward higher achievements. He loved history and made the others love it.

One of my best remembrances is a radiant day of August, 1921, one of the few my father ever dedicated, in all his life, to amusement and rest from heavier daily tasks. He and I both as joyous as school children playing truant, left Rome for the day at 6 a. m. through Porta San Sebastiano and in the hot sunshine of the "agro" walked all through the Appian Way to the Alban hills. Anxiously we traversed one millenary ruin after another, observing and marveling with an interest well different and distant from the cold and dull romanizing rhetoric I experienced later in the schools, following the fascist victory. On that glorious day I understood why the past was for my father a constitutive element of the present and how his love for things ancient could be conciliated with his longing for a social renovation and with his rebellious nature. While in the desolate Roman Campagna the darkness was defeating the deep red disc of the setting sun and our shadows elongated immeasurably on the antique pavement, he spoke of Caesar and Catiline, of Spartacus and the slavery of old—and modern—with such a young earnestness that we were unmindful of our fatigue and of the flying hours. I kept listening attentively to my happy walking companion, not only as to a father and instructor, but as to my collaborator in studying and playing.

Luigi Fabbri's vast sowing seems to have fallen on the rocks, to the discouraged and the seekers of immediate results. His struggle for liberty has struck against the iron barriers of perfidy and ignorance encircling us ever more closely. Unable to bend his spirit, they have broken him. Nevertheless, in the trials of exile and defeat, he must have felt, before leaving us for ever, the contentment of having contributed to the building of the future world he dreamed; of having been upright with himself and the others; of having transferred his thought, not only into words, but also, and above all, into his lived life.

If you had lived near him for many years, you simply could not say Anarchy is impossible, since you'd have seen it in action. And that persevering and almost unknown operation unfolding at equal pace with the activities of agitation and written propaganda; that incessant labor of self and his fellow man's education in the practice of freedom, even in the minutest circumstances of life, is not, perhaps, a small contribution to the future reconstruction of human society.

(Translated by V. Aretta)

In Retrospect of Current Events

(Continued from Page Four)

let this happen. To judge by the two significant victories that they have just achieved by direct revolutionary methods one is lead to conclude that the last word and deed of the struggling revolutionary movement for justice and freedom has not been heard and made as yet.

A people, as the Spanish, that have shown such valiant heroism as that displayed at Casa Vieja, Asturias, and now all over Spain—not let themselves be mislead or ridden anew by even a republican-socialist-communist-renegade syndicalist set of politicians.

Freedom and justice belongs to those who understanding their significance and value, are likewise willing to fight for in achieving these.

The Cause For Assassinations

It appears cruel indeed to meet one's own death facing the muzzle of a shot gun or the edge of a saber. Last month one of the agents and spies of Nazism, Wilhelm Gustloff, was thus shot to death in Switzerland by a Jewish student, David Frankfurter, who proudly admitted his act as one of vengeance upon the torture and murders that over 600,000 Jews are undergoing at the hands of the Hitler regime of Germany. The end of the same month witnessed the death of five leading officials of the Japanese Government inflicted by a well organized group of the army, and which resulted in the death of scores of other officials and civilians, chiefly those of the attackers.

Those who either prefer to shut their eyes and ears will not admit seeing or hearing the truth. These will even shed tears of sympathy for the loss of Mr. Hitler, or for the leading officials of the Japanese Government. Those though who are willing to see and hear the truth will have to express their sympathy more with David Frankfurter and the Japanese soldiers than with their victims. First of all, no one can deny that these avengers staked their lives by attempting to carry out the acts that they did. They certainly were no cowards. And the chief question that arises in the carrying out of their acts, is, as to what had prompted their deeds?

When sadism, extermination and even murder upon over half a million men, women and children, becomes sanctified by the "law," as Hitler's regime has inflicted upon the Jews, who is to blame for the spirit of vengeance that arose in the soul of a David Frankfurter?

And could not exactly the same explanation be found, only in varying causes, for the rebellion staged by about one thousand soldiers and officers against the leading officials of the Japanese Government? If there should be any one doubting this let such a one read this admission made by the Japanese ambassador to America, Mr. Hiroshi Saito, on February 29th:

... back of all there must be discerned the general suspicion—though misdirected—among the young generation of Japan—as in many other countries—that the Cabinet and the Diet have been greatly influenced by big business and other private interests and therefore corrupted. Such suspicion has been nurtured and intensified through the very hard living most of them themselves and many others in Japan are eking out . . . The improvement of such conditions of want and misery may have lurked in the minds of these radicals.

True it is that the rebellious soldiers were militarists, but this fact was not by far, the chief or only reason for their act as the press would want the world to believe. Mr. Saito's admissions proves that it was not. The truth is that the five supposedly "liberal" victims of the rebellious soldiers have no one else to blame for their fate than their own actions during their lives. They, as well as the remaining "liberal" Government, aided in fostering among the soldiers the rankest sort of patriotism and nationalism. They have placed a premium of honor upon the profession of the soldier, little expecting that the sword may prove itself to be of a double-edged menace.

Where, oh where, is there in this year of 1936 a single existent Government in the world that is not doing its utmost to foster within the minds and bodies of its youth, nay even of mere children, the spirit of national bigotry, chauvenistic hatred, all backed by the teaching and practice of militarism? And what else can it, or does, all this ultimately find expression except in the lack of proper judgment as to what is truth and what is falsehood, what is unjust and what is right, and the chief evil, to be at all times ready to murder fellow human beings whom they never even knew or saw, at the behest of a command, executed in the sole interests of furthering and safeguarding the exploitation and rulership of man over fellow man?

Back of the Nazi regime in Germany stands its leading weapon of injustice, and the attack of David Frankfurter was brought on by this reign of injustice, just as back of the rebellion of the one thousand soldiers and officers of Japan likewise stands the protest against economic and political injustice. And no government in the world is strong enough to root out the spirit of protest and rebellion against the injustices it condones and aims at perpetuating. Every history book attests to this fact.

Assassination is not a method of reasoning, of proving one's position as superior. It is at all times an act of protest against what is not true, not fair, not just. When our world shall no longer be ruled by the knout of the club and the gun, the jail and the judge, the exploiter and the ruler—then only—shall assassination become a thing of the past.

MARCUS GRAHAM.

Good Government

A man professing to speak on behalf of good government says that there must be some way to make the best men take part in government, since the business of government is naturally so distasteful to a gentleman that no gentleman will have anything to do with it unless he is made to.

Of course anybody who argues like that ought to be deported or jailed or something. Unluckily in this case it is difficult; for the man who said this was Plato, and he has for more than two thousand years been in heaven or in hell or wherever is the right place for people who write like that.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

CORRESPONDENCE and DISCUSSION

"If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought, Let It Crack!"—WENDEL PHILLIPS

Authors and Fascism

There are periods in history when any honest man must make a choice between two divergent tendencies. We naturally expect an artist, for instance, to make a choice between the freedom of the human mind and the factors that enslave it. But when an artist is so lacking in sensitivity that he can contribute to the most unprincipled Fascist sheets, we have a right, not only to question his personal integrity, but also to deny his claim to being "a legislator of humanity."

Mr. James Neill Northe may interpret the above paragraph in any manner that he sees fit. If the Hearst publications are so "cultural, refined, and respectable," then, indeed, Mr. Northe is degrading himself by appearing in such a struggling publication as MANI. As one writer, I prefer to contribute my work gratis to MANI, and, if necessary, beg my bread rather than accept the dung-covered money of William Randolph Hearst. If lies, pornography, and viciousness constitute culture, I shall be content to remain a peasant on a Texas farm.

But if I am right and Mr. Northe is wrong, then the latter's plea against "pulling down" instead of "building up" means simply to blind ourselves against every existing injustice. In such a sense, "building up" would merely embellish the organized cruelty of state and aristocracy, placing coats of sugar over its most bitter operations. Thus, the proper function of a poet would be to deck the jails and scaffolds with perfumed posies.

If one can accept such an adjustment, he may sell his work without reservation to the forces seeking the destruction of all culture. Mr. Hearst can use the poets today. Tomorrow, he plans for them either to be drafted into uniforms or thrown into concentration camps.

One may question seriously Mr. Northe's critical standards when he says that the Anarchists have produced little literature. This argument caused my mind to revert to Kropotkin's "Revolutionary Pamphlets"—one of the greatest affirmations of the human spirit ever penned in any language. Nor to my knowledge has Mr. Northe ever written any poetry comparable to that of Voltaire De Cleyre. I wonder, also, if he has ever heard of the poet, Erich Muhsam, whose death in a Nazi prison-hell should indicate what may happen to Mr. Northe under a domestic Fascist regime. Lately, I have been reading again the letters of Bartolomeo Vanzetti; and I am convinced that many of his phrases can be transformed immediately into great and effective verse.

Long before the first issue of MANI appeared, I was invited to become a contributor, although I have never been an Anarchist. A number of my articles and poems have appeared in this journal, but I have never been conscious of any "censorship." Indeed, the Anarchist readers have shown an appreciation of my work that has done much to develop me as a revolutionary writer. But how would Mr. Northe be received if he were to send a poem, defending the right—and the obligation—of rebellion to Hearst?

Certainly, the truths exemplified by the revolutionary movement stand above the petty schisms which almost prevent us uniting on such an elementary issue as the Ferrero-Sallitto case. But the illuminating principles of the Social Revolution are entirely different from the obscene mouthings of Fascism. Mr. Northe can neither resolve nor combine those differences by a species of aesthetic mysticism. Only, the great triumph of the Revolution itself can settle the question. And, today, any tolerance of the Hearsts means virtual surrender to the Hitlers.

HAROLD PREECE.

In your argument with James Neill Northe you mention the appearance in MANI of material from writers for more social causes than one. This very likely fits me, for you backed up Nudism in your pages from things I have written.

WILLIAM SHEPPARD SPARKS.

I am sorry to see that MANI has so hard a struggle, I believe, however, that it is partly due to its narrowness, in this I agree with Northe. Your tendency and your policy is to segregate yourself and your group from others, because you are afraid of contamination, and therefore you resemble the religious zealots. Do you ever consider that a strong individuality carries its influence with him, wherever it goes? Did it ever occur to you that a free spirit might carry its message to people who subscribe to the liberal or even conservative press, if they can get articles published therein. And after all a writer has to live also. If he can get some money from the liberal press for articles attuned to the understanding of its readers, yet without a betrayal of his principles, and ideals, I see no reason why he should not do so. I have no admiration for the martyr, and I esteem the man who can meet different minds in their own level without surrendering his own identity.

F. WERTGEN.

Re—Mr. Northe's letter regarding poets or others writing in various publication: I met Mr. Hurd, and he told me about your attitude towards him and the others. Your decree that anyone who writes for Hearst "cannot" write for MANI—was not that autocratic? No laws! We must try to understand the individuals—people write to be printed—pay or no pay. I am sure that Mr. Hurd or people like him do not care for Mr. Hearst or the likes of him, but they write to see or rather deliver their sayings to the people no matter in what publications.

HARRY BLOCK.

Allow me to thank you for your courteous and well-meaning reply to my letter. I did not expect to receive this courtesy. Naturally you are vitally interested in your side of the argument and you might have made the most of the opportunity of disagreeing with someone not in accordance with your ideals. I do not agree with you when you say "that those poets in

the world's literature who have left their mark upon the progress of mankind have been in the forefront of every struggle of the masses for more Justice and Beauty in Life." I could not be fair and not agree with you part of the way but do not say "all" poets when you mention those who have stormed their way to the front of literature, rather than earned it. I believe we both discard those who use socialism, communism and the anarchist movement for their own publicity.

I am not attempting to hide behind any shield when I definitely attack the narrow mindedness and littleness of purpose of our churches today. Possibly the radical press establishes more of a foundation than all of our creeds and cults. Unfortunately, I have found those professing to be Christians to be those of the most intolerant mind and narrow intellect. On the other hand, I have found those outside the so-called churchly "pale" magnificent in their universal appreciation.

I have not been a careful reader of the anarchist press, one reason being I do not like the destructive element in it. However, that does not prevent the fact that I appreciate some aspects of the fearlessness of such a movement. The anarchist movement can in no manner "rightfully claim to be the freest of all" because it is practically entirely destructive in its campaign.

I think we can both dispense with the Hearst press; junk it as a movement and relegate it to the followers of the "golden rule," who follow the gold and forget the rule. The cash of William Randolph Hearst has not only bought "the writings of some popular writers," but has commanded the talent of the world and a good fifty per cent of it has not bothered itself politically, financially or religiously as to the personal ideas of Mr. Hearst. What the anarchists forget, along with the socialists and the communists, is the fact that there is a group of artists who stand on their own in building for art regardless of Mr. Hearst or the radicals.

Justice, Liberty and Truth are akin to Faith, Hope and Charity, as insufficient and unstable as the great American classic proclaiming that "all men are free and equal."

I admire the Hearst publications for their presentation of things cultural, unhampered by personal prejudices, the same as I give credit to MANI for its fearlessness in presenting articles at cross-purposes with our established citizenry. "The sex-orgy stories that fill the Hearst press" are no worse, if you compare them, than the free-love cults of lesser movements. They are all merely blotches.

You have been kind in suggesting that I am "not motivated by any enmity," which is true; in fact, I admire you for the restraint and courtesy with which you answered my letter. I have heard it said that it is possible for gentlemen to disagree in a gentlemanly manner. You refuse to mince words, the same as I; therefore, we disagree yet I firmly believe that such an argument in print will solve a great many problems for our readers.

Let me make a statement: any program based upon warfare is not only a product of hell, hideous in its entirety but destructive to every culture. I am not a pacifist, but I demand to know for the sake of all that is good and fine, for the deep-rooted feeling in all of us which some call religion, of what use is war? . . . Whether it be civil, mere bombings, fire, explosions or murder. It is all the same thing. It is destruction. I dislike the Pollyanna attitude, I can fight if necessary to the limit and I loathe war, not only for its futile efforts but because it has never proven itself to be workable. It is this element in the radical press I deplore. Until you find some method of building, until you find a leader with ideals less utopian and more well balanced for the good of his fellow man and his fellow men, you have achieved little.

Again I salute you for your fearlessness, your courtesy and the privilege of being able to write you freely.

JAMES NEILL NORTHE.

Wertgen is evading the issue to the point of distortion. I have not come forward to tell any one in what conservative or liberal press one should or should not collaborate. The issue is only as to whether a libertarian journal should print anything from writers who participate in a fascist press, such as that of Hearst.

Comrade Block's invoking of the "no laws" argument is quite out of place. Anarchism recognizes no laws alright, but has a conception of ethics by which each is to guide one's own actions. It is this ethical consciousness which prompted me to disassociate from MANI any writers who collaborate in a press that traduces and incites to mob action against every sincere fighter for freedom and justice.

The readers of MANI can best estimate any of the incorrect comparisons and statements that our Friend Northe again makes, although acknowledging sort of a retrenchment. He has as yet to learn that the anarchist school of thought by its very destructive work of all that deserves no better, is thereby already building up a better understanding at the same time. Likewise, that it does not urge or favor violence and class warfare as a method of reasoning, but rather as defence. Whenever Northe shall be able to convince entrenched wrong to surrender to reason, the anarchist will be found first to applaud the great event.—M. G.

Why Money Altogether?

What do you think of my slogan, "A Mint For Every Town"? or would you prefer that one about a chicken or two chicks for every pot. My local editor to whom I turn in a lot of literary scraps doesn't seem to like the tone of it, possibly it is too suggestive of a conspiracy for another ring of counterfeiters, which we might as well have as the present authoritative bunch of money manufacturers bona fide. Printing press money

indeed, what other is it than that which we tolerate? Wouldn't you like to take a contract printing for the government some of those new greenbacks necessary to pay off the soldiers' bonus of two billion dollars? I think it might be a good thing to concentrate upon this money question and rip it to pieces like the old St. Louis RIP SAW published a few years ago by Kate Richard O'Hara and others.

Of course it doesn't matter whether we have a mint or every town or no mints at all, the most important thing in life is this: Do me a favor and I'll do one for you, etc.

So long as we are slaves to the money power we have to acknowledge the facts in the case and act accordingly. Perhaps I might speak differently about the subject if I were president of a banking institution or superintendent of a Sunday School, or some other high position of superstitious ideas. Those who have studied the tactics of the radical movements for many years have seen free thought moves in which religion has been attacked in all countries and still people love it, enough so to keep it going.

I would like to see an attack on the monetary system and certainly if we were actually to have a Mint for Every Town and Free Trade in the mintage of what passes for money it would certainly knock out the concentration of monetary wealth because more could be produced as fast as anybody tried to do a little concentrating. They try to corner food products but more can be produced by those who are not too lazy to produce it. Pretty good joke on the democratic party to have a president with authority to pay producers to stop producing!

W. S. ALLEN.

* * *

Readers We Keep On Our List

This is to notify you that I am one of those who are financially unable to pay for subscription to your paper. I read every word of MANI which you have kindly sent me, and while I do not want to get something for nothing, I would be beholden to you if you continued to favor me.

Yes, Edmund Burke's "Government is the abuse," continues to be the last word on diagnosis of the symptom found only in the human animal.

And I know of no better way to influence my sick fellow-man, than to so behave that my living example may induce him to "come out of it" and so dispel the spooks he projects and which raise hell.

Passive resistance appeals not to fighters and they readily justify themselves by declaring that they do not invade, just only defend themselves. I also will fight when invaded. But not making any fetish of any fixed idea that has me, I have no occasion to flaunt same and by my defiance invite attack from my fellow man.

I follow attentively what you print of articles by Laurance Labadie, for his father was one of my intimate and most lovable of friends. Also I well knew Lindbergh Sr., and I think his son has shown qualities of a big man, under circumstances which would have turned the heads of others and would have turned them into snobs and unfeeling wretches.

The spirit of Sebastian Faure appeals to me much. For he seems to realize that contemporary circumstance is the effect from what human beings are and create. The poet Northe also is fine if not on a hair trigger.

All this recalls what a wise old lady said to me the other day: "You, Mr. Wagner, have friends of 57 varieties."

Trusting that the woes of the world will not depress you too severely and the worst continues to be just around the corner, I am,

A. C. WAGNER.

* * *

The Dreamer Dreams On

Here's a blank form in my hands. What shall I do with it? It registers a hope that the recipient will respond in interest and so feel impelled to make contributions or subscriptions. But my taxes are due and I am wondering how to pay them. The funds that once were available, small though they were, for contributions to the interests of my ideals, are gone, at least for the present.

There is no group in existence so far as my knowledge goes for which I feel a greater sympathetic attachment than the anarchists. Though I am old enough to be a "conservative," yet I find my reveries as full of idealistic plans and dreams of the new society as ever.

In 1903 I organized a socialist "local" here. But there are no socialists or communists or anarchists here now, sufficiently active to make me aware of their existence. In the interval my own romantic idealism has taken a larger account of historical, sociological, and psychological fact and my present attitudes are more clearly understood than in my more immature years.

I am compelled to say that my comrades in these three movements have not made the same sort of adjustment to fact. In some respects they are still romantic and primitive, reproducing traditional attitudes. Taking their attitudes from Marx or Bakunin or Proudhon they fail to understand their authors in their historical connections.

The war is coming I feel sure. That there will be revolutions is the usual effect of devastating wars. But none of the "revolutionary" parties have yet acquired the "functions" essential to reorganizing society in an ideal order. I am therefore compelled to dream of a development that will produce movements based upon an activity expressive of "social functions" more characteristic and efficient than is now extant.

"Silver and gold I have none—" yet here's the blank, a wistful and regretful bit of script.

THOS. J. LLOYD.

* * *

If a government requires the support of oaths, it is a sign that it is not worth supporting and ought not to be supported.

—THOMAS PAINE.

ART AND LITERATURE

THE FREE

A' vivi
Del viver ch' e un correr alla morte
"To those who live
"The life that is a race to death"
—Purgatorio, xxxiii. 54

And in gratitude to Marcus Graham
from whose mind
Zangara
first came to abide in mine

Janice Brooks

I
Pain hammered mercilessly, while the dark
Head tossed in rhythmic agony; in limpid
Terror the great eyes bulged, and veins attained
Triumph on temple, throat and wrist; now stark
And empty clutching was the fate of hands
That had been life's philosophers. One long
Flame, then another, wrapped the bed
And swept aside the doleful, hanging, dead
Cries in the heavy silent room. "Oh Mother
Of Christ, Maria, help! Here in this tomb
Deliver me of this thy Son's own brother!" . . .
Out of black hell uprooted wrenched, was born
A man, Zangara, from a woman torn.

II
On the soft green Calabrian slopes the child
Was granted freedom in the life of those
Whose fate is circled by tradition's bond
And sterner Nature's need. At dawn he rose
And ran the hills—so quarreled, laughed and played
With others like him; soon with these to work,
To follow flocks and carry loads, to dream
A Latin dream of conquered fate, of flayed
Circumstance. Tales were murmured of a world
Where Italy's quick sons might place their livid
Force behind games, and gain a dream more vivid
Than angels dared. With these the mild days curled
Themselves and lay within (retreat of strength)
Zangara, boy, who worked and dreamt their length.

III
Through youth relentlessly he fought with Time.
The dream receded with the day's new-born
Machinery, to coil around the threads
Of will and hope—a girdle to adorn
A great unconscious courage. Famine raged
Within, a deathless hunger lived in sun-
Flogged body, driven by denial to prove
That some day plenty does abide, nor caged
In name or palace. Remnants of each breath
Took form—to cast their shadows, here one less

Mouthful, there young foregone delight, distress
Indulged, another gauntlet thrown at death.
Heedless to signal gnawing, bravery's vise,
Zangara, child, withheld unreason's price.

IV
Armed with a small technique and still furred valour
(On drought-parched plains and twisted soul the sun
Rose) the belated knight went forth. He rode
His dream and slept with, shouldered, eyed the lead
Of groping hope, along in nothing but
The loneliness of every pilgrim, seeker,
Dreamer and waiter. Dull with dread they talked
In darker hours, till the sunlight stalked
The decks and broke the backs of sullen waves;
Then freedom flamed within, to keep them wrapped
In silence, unaware that they were trapped
More now as freemen, than before as slaves.
Under the idol's raiment blossomed crime;
Zangara, babe, unknowing, entered Time.

V
Assault of sound from blackened metal throats,
Agonized outcries of assailed and driven
Forces, entrenched and battered him. Dun smoke
Aided phantasmagoria. His riven
Heart paled at Liberty's unchallenged dirt.
A teeming sepulchre replaced the vision,
Welcome resolved to vortex. Onward charged
The dream, alive—a ghost endured, inert,
To drift through space of rushing, airless street
And room, to listen through the din for light,
To mount the wheel, to lie, deny and cheat,
To give to stone and steal from flesh, to fight
His brothers for a life insane and aching.
Zangara, spirit, sickened—arched to breaking.

VI
Course in taut sleep, in weighted hours apportioned
To build some temple of a mad and gutted
Gradually mind accompanied the rhythms'
Rocketings, smooth and glassy ran its rutted
Whim, laying lovely fragments, mute, unseeing,

In wooden loneliness. Bewilderment
Alone with body's pain consumed today,
Defied and daunted labor, danced, decreeing
Respite in death. Amour of medicine's magic,

VII
The inner burning outlined men in flame,
Drenched them with scalding radiance. Fire
Purified form—the hanging curve of hunger,
The roots of opulence, the spiralled frame
Desire climbs, the rotting cross of hope.
He walked, entombed in suffering's prison; cries
Of others beat upon the walls, remained
Allure of motion, jingle jungle tragic
America commending men to shame—
(Far back Calabria's rebel fires flame)
Labor and pain . . . anathema . . . death's refrain . . .
Zangara, atom, flickered—spilled its pain.
There etched with acid truth. The free are chained,
And choice is all there is of freedom when
Greed is alive. The far green hills again
Are limbo, Liberty's house is chaos. Men
May choose release from hunger or from pain,
Punishable by death for asking why;
Zangara, patriot, prepared to die.

VIII
Zangara, citizen, discovered life—
The silencing of pain with lies, by those
The leaders men will choose. He chose
To stifle lies with pain, with one white flash—
Zangara, god, redeemer of his race,
Freeman and orphan, shot to kill the liars.
The heavens rolled in swollen silent grief
For truths that only dying men may face.
Zangara, killer, peasant, beast—the world
He'd tried to tell revolved in righteous fury,
Not shocked nor curious, but frightened—curled
In mocking savagery, a jungle jury.
Zangara, madman, shrouds another's shame;
Zangara, rebel, lives in beauty's name.

October 17, 1935.

Berkeley, California.

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Book Reviews

THE CREED OF KINSHIP by Henry S. Salt. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 300 Fourth Avenue, New York City, 118 pages. \$1.50. Obtainable also through MANI

The small size of this volume does by no means bespeak of its great significance. This, despite the fact that it has been lamentably passed up by the officiating critics of the press, conservative, liberal and radical alike. This in itself it nothing new, since similar treatment has been accorded to every book that goes to the root of the questions it sets out to deal with. The most recent victimised work was the one of the late George Brandes dealing with the Jesus Christ Myth.

Henry S. Salt is now an octogenarian, but not at all a novice in the radical thinking literary world. He has written many works on various humanitarian subjects and been, as he still is, at the helm of movements that place the value of man above everything else. My first acquaintance with Salt was when I was working on the gathering of material for "An Anthology Of Revolutionary Poetry." It was a small sized volume of his, entitled "Songs Of Freedom." As I learned afterwards this little volume was for scores of years an inspiring treasure for radicals of all schools. Our late comrade William C. Owen related to me that in his youthful days no radical gathering would be held unless some revolutionary inspiring poetry would be recited. Quite different from nowadays.

Salt's "The Creed of Kinship" is sort of a valedictory, and one that only the future free society of man will be capable of understanding and appreciate. It is not possible to give the reader an idea of the full importance embodied in the contents of the volume. No excerpts, except the reprinting of page by page would do it full justice. Every thought is a challenge to some well-established custom or law by which man's inequality is being justified and maintained. It is destined to become the philosophical and ethical hand-book of the basic creed of every real humanitarian idea for justice and freedom.

Salt does not plead for his position, as the Christian socialists are so wont of doing. He reverts the method by calling a spade a spade, thereby making it a ringing challenge to every

wrong which surrounds us.

The pillars of the present order have succeeded through their many manipulations of the mind as well as of the body to make it appear that they are great benefactors when they hand out to the multitudes charity, lately in the form of doles, relief, or unemployment insurance. Salt points out in no unimaging terms that it is these very pillars of the present order that are the ones who are living on charities, doles and insurances—obtained from what they have and are robbing of the multitudes. Thus is the method, and a very well-thought and clear one at that, by which Salt proceeds to challenge all the well-known props of so-called "civilization". Crime and punishment, nationalism and war, exploitation and commerce, belief and religion—all these shields behind which present society has the effrontery to call itself civilized—Salt scathingly tears the cloak from and concludes that it may take centuries before mankind shall truthfully be able to attach to itself the name—civilized.

It is but natural, for me at least, to find that the philosopher of an ethical creed of kinship should challenge as well the still prevalent habit of man to devour animal flesh, as but a slight step from cannibalism. I simply cannot conceive a truly free society that will not hold sacred human as well as animal life. Salt is therefore quite correct when tracing all the deformities from which mankind now suffers to cannibalism, and the need of growing out of it before this earth can be turned into the paradise that it could be made for mankind.

It is the lack of the creed of kinship that has brought us to the abyss which now stares us in the face. And it is most significant that Salt should too find himself inspired by most of the expositors of the anarchist school of thought, such as Thoreau, Godwin and Shelley.

Mankind can unfetter its chains of every custom, rule and law that have shackled and throttled it into a deformed monster. And such books as *The Creed Of Kinship* by Henry S. Salt should prove as the greatest inspiration in aiding to bring this about.

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ALMANACCO LIBERTARIO edited by Carlo Frigerio. Casella postale stand 128, Geneva, Switzerland. 80 pages. 40 Cents.

This is the eight yearly almanac published in aid of political victims. It contains essays, poems, drawings, pictures and many excerpts of libertarian writers. It is gotten out with care and taste, and printed on good paper. The only criticism I can offer is against the carelessness with which the photo of anarchist publications of the world has been compiled. Publications like the Road to Freedom, Rising Youth, L'emancipazione, The Workers' Friend, Der Freie Arbeiter and a few other publications—long defunct—are included. Since the photo made includes the September 1935 issue of MANI there is hardly any justification for such negligence. M. G.

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

Cuba

The situation in Cuba, especially in the treatment of prisoners, is truly more brutal to-day than during Machado's regime. From a publication (without any radical denomination) which among others appears under cover in the city of Havana, we take the following:

Hell in the Penitentiary

For the past two years, since the downfall of Machado, political prisoners have been submitted to more cruelties than during the dark days of the dictatorship. The brutal attack of prisoners in the "La Leona" penitentiary on Dec. 30, 1931, by gangsters under the command of Diaz Galup, is to-day a constantly repeated scene under the authority of Captain Coloma. No single case had ever roused public opinion and caused such unanimous protest as had that one. To-day the aggression is continual; it occurs under the cowardly silence of the press, the general indifference of the public. Thus, the press and the general public are, by virtue of passiveness, in some way responsible for the misdeeds of Captain Coloma.

In the sinister and bestial days of Machado's dictatorship, when those arrested for political reasons entered into prison, they were always somewhat relieved to know that they were saved from the danger of "expert" paid murderers. As a general rule the incarcerated enjoyed some security because of the fact that Castell and Diaz Galup, although murderers of common prisoners, feared to openly attack political prisoners. Instead, they took them hypocritically under their protection.

That was the time when men never came out of such places; if by chance, they did come out, they were mutilated.

To-day the authorities have crushed all principles, and Crespo's evil spirit inspires the malicious Captain Coloma.

Political prisoners are not recognized as such. The very fact that they are political prisoners may cost them their lives. They may not receive visitors—neither friends nor family, nor can they get bedding, clothes or food. Although they are insufficiently fed, they may not purchase foodstuffs out of their own funds. These restrictions are imposed upon them for no other reason than the desire for revenge; that is an aggression which is at the same time terrible and somewhat ridiculous. Insults and treats are constantly hurled against them. The political prisoners scrub floors and walls, load pushcarts with heavy stones and then wheel them around without any practical end other than to create work.

The bivouac is a narrow tunnel dug fifteen feet into the ground, and is ventilated by a small garret-window. The roof and walls of the place are always wet, and the air is humid and foul. And here in this hole 500 men of all classes are incarcerated. There are about twenty dens occupied by fifty women. 350 men sleep in the cold tunnel, exposed to the dripping water. Seven or eight of these prisoners have been privileged to obtain blankets from their influential families; the others cover themselves with damp sacks which help keep out some of the cold.

Here there is no classification; all are common prisoners. New-arrivals are segregated, by virtue of their personal appearance, into two groups—those who will work and those who will not work. No importance is attached to the fact that some are common prisoners and some are political prisoners sent there by the "Tribunales de Sanciones." Here, there is no prestige: rebels, artists, scientists, are all alike subjected to threats and insults.

Medical service is unknown to this penitentiary. By order of Coloma, the doctor of the penal institution may not assist the sick or wounded. If he should violate this rule, he would himself become a victim to the "Servicio de Inteligencia Militar." All prisoners are compelled to work beyond their strength.

In "El Morrillo" prison, accused of having tried to escape, Dr. Antonio Guiteras was stripped of all his clothes, placed in a damp underground cell, insulted, beaten, soaked from time to time with ice water, and thus forced to commit suicide by crushing his head against the wall.

In "La Cabana" as well as in the "Isla de Pinos" prisons, men of all classes are compelled to work with pick and shovel. Captain Pulido of the Presidio has particularly shown his brutality in the beating of prisoners; he stated, that if necessary, he would kill all political prisoners.

A few days ago in the "Bartolina" prison seven of our comrades were terribly beaten: A. Blomonte, Faguet, B. Sanchez, T. Gonzalez, J. Pena, R. Machado and others, all political prisoners, bleeding from the beating were sent to the hospital. Except for their political stand, none of them know the motive behind this beating. The lives of our comrades are truly in danger. The situation is more critical than one can imagine. Protest in any way, affectively and promptly, for we are sure that the beasts are preparing for the slaughter of our comrades. Captain Florian said that we are listed for a good thrashing at the first signal of revolt.

This is the horrible situation of all those who are fighting for a better to-morrow; this is Cuba to-day.

(Tr. by J. S.)

HAVANA.

Italy

(A Letter from Alfonso Petrini)

After years of a great and documented agitation in my favor by comrades and liberal minded people of all countries, I could hope that the communist slandering would stop, that they no longer would try to murder me morally. But it was a mistake, I did not realize how low the Stalin's foot-men could descend.

The communist paper L'Idée Populaire under the headline: "The End of a Farce. Petrini the Anarchist Liberated by Fascism," has stupidly and slanderously commented upon my character and the Aquila trial, naming the latter conventional.

Still, the facts were as follows:—

On May 24th, at the end of my exile sentence inflicted upon

me by the Russian dictators, the police notified me that I was to be confined in a political center of deportation.

Here, for those who may not know it, there is a system of rotation with prison center for all those who persist to remain true to their ideal of human freedom. And in these Russian political centers of deportation one meets numerous anarchists, socialists, dissident communists, etc.

Well, being in this center of deportation, I decided, at all cost, to get out of the bolshevik grip. I wrote to Litvinoff, people's commissar of foreign affairs, I asked him to be deported from Russian territory and demanded in unbiased terms to be permitted to go to France where for many years faithful comrades were waiting for me, or to be deported to any other country but Italy. I added, however, that should my request be denied, I should prefer to be jailed in Italy than to submit to other deportations in Russia by the rulers of the "workers' country."

And the Moscow dictators refused to let me go where I should be free to expose publicly the bolshevik criminal misdeeds and thus, to keep me silent they delivered me to the authorities of fascist Italy.

But I have gathered edifying confessions from Russian communists—their names will not be divulged for I don't wish to have them the victims of the cruel and inexorable Soviet dictators.

Now, in regard to the Aquila trial, it took place in the normal way, in court and according to the routine of the law; any one could follow the case. I was sentenced to ten years' of reclusion, the sentence being attenuated by the facts of my minor age and the lack of proofs. Such sentences, and for the same cause, were inflicted in the Aquila trial of 1926 to other comrades implicated with me. Still, the condemnations did not call for special soundings as always inflicted by the communists.

Again, the Ancona communists insinuate that my extradition was nothing but a pleasure trip. The fact is that during the whole journey, I was locked up in a cabin and when I landed in Naples I was sent to the Poggioreale prison to be transferred to Ancona and anew to the prison of Aquila and never one minute without being handcuffed.

Furthermore, they insinuate that the procedure in the instruction of my trial was all in my favor on the part of the judicial authorities. To give the lie to the above, it is enough to say that the new penal code contrary to the old one, requests a swift instruction and a brief trial. Surely five months of preventive incarceration for a trial already instructed could not be considered as favorable treatment; that's the one I received.

What's the use to argue with such opponents.

Nevertheless, to the communists!

In order to clarify once for all the situation created for me by the communists, by order of the Moscow government, only with the idea of morally defaming an anarchist, I propose that a committee composed of delegates from all parties and workers' organizations meet so as to resolve this controversy which unjustly has lasted much too long for the fact that it is fed by the slandering Moscow despots.

(Translated by J. S.)

ALFONSO PETRINI.

Russia

Early in January, 1936, one of the best known theoreticians and spokesmen of the Anarchist ideal, comrade Alexei Borovoy, died. In pre-revolutionary days he occupied the position of professor at the Moscow university. When the Bolsheviks took hold of the reins of the government it turned him out of the university, as an anti-Marxist. In 1921 the anarcho-syndicalist publishing house, "Golos Truda," (which was subsequently suppressed as all other anarchist organizations and publications were long before that) published Borovoy's "The Individual in the Light of Anarchist Ideology." In 1929 the GPU arrested comrade Borovoy and sentenced him to three years exile to Viatka, without ever making public any accusations against him. When his term ended, the Bolsheviks, as they are wont to do in many similar instances, simply re-sentenced comrade Borovoy again, and suffering from a weak heart he was at last freed from the Bolshevik paradise.

United States

The Jewish Anarchist Federation held its annual convention on January 31-February 1 in New York City. Among the more important decisions were the following: As against the propaganda in the labor movement for a labor party, the active comrades within the trade unions are urged to work for industrial unionism. Formation of anarchist groups within the trade unions was suggested, and these should in turn join the Federation and distribute literature. To launch a campaign for organizing more groups, and if possible, send out an organizer for that purpose. To issue leaflets and pamphlets in the English and Jewish languages. Also to aid all those papers and publications appearing in the English language that are not in "contradiction to the position of the Jewish Anarchist Federation." It was also recommended that the Freie Arbeiter Stimme should devote "more space for anarchist articles even if it shall become necessary to reprint an article on political, social and revolutionary working-class problems."

Approval was given to the work of the Modern School at Stelton, N. J. Greetings were sent to all political victims of "capitalist justice and reaction." A call is to be issued to all the comrades of the Federation to actively participate in aiding the fight against the impending deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto.

As to the question of war, a resolution sent in by the Group of Los Angeles was adopted. It reads as follows:

The 14th convention of the Jewish Anarchist Federation deems it as necessary to emphasize the anti-militarist and anti-imperialist attitude of all libertarian socialists. . . . If, when a war breaks out between two countries or several countries, we declare, that we shall not side with one faction as against

the other, that all the leaders of the present rulerships carry the responsibility for the coming blood-bath and we call upon all workers and liberty-loving people to carry on right now a diligent struggle against capitalism, that calls forth bloody struggles between nation and nation.

* * *

On the question of anarchist participation in trade unions a long discussion took place. It was opened by Rose Pesotta, a paid union official since 1933. L. Levy, another paid union official for scores of years, placed the following questions before the convention:

During the late years, we (the union leaders) ran to the lawmaking institutions for enacting laws for the benefit of the workers, minimum wages, a "code." We have participated in the committees that worked out the "codes." I therefore ask you, was this consistent or inconsistent? . . . Or take such an instance: a strike of about tens of thousands of workers is about to break out. We feel that the chances for the strikers to win are poor; that it would be healthier for the workers and for the union to avoid the strike, but in order to carry this out, there is needed the mediation of a third party, a politician. So we go to such an influential person, let's say, to La Guardia, the Mayor of New York. . . . I ask you, is it consistent or inconsistent? It is this, comrades, that you have to consider. Upon this you have to find an answer.

In conjunction with the above cynical and frank admission as to how far into the mud, anarchists, as paid union officials, have sunk in the trade unions, it is interesting to quote from an article in the Freie Arbeiter Stimme of Jan. 31, 1936, by a rank and file comrade—S. Rothman. After criticising the union leaders' acceptance of the NRA as "a 'liberation' for the working class," he relates of a meeting of the very same local of which the above L. Levy is manager, and where as a solution to the complete break-down of union conditions and inability to earn a living, this remedy was placed before the members:

. . . the manager with his executive recommend, that we should appeal to the relief bureau for aid to our union members. Through an organized power, they declared, relief could be obtained for the members, who have no work and are looking for a job. . . . How do you like the manner in which trade questions are being considered and labor problems being solved?

In the January, 1934 issue of MAN! an editorial on "Anarchists and the Labor Movement" said in part:

Anarchists have always participated in the existing unions and syndicates in order to propagate our uncompromising anti-authoritarian ideas. Whenever and wherever individual anarchists deviate from this course and accept paid official jobs—they cease by such very acts to be a part of the Anarchist movement, which has at all times an uncompromising ideal to live for and fight for.

The reader can easily discern from the above editorial excerpt how true indeed has been the position we have taken. The report of what followed the placing of Levy's questions before the convention, states: "It was clear for all, that the debate was not ended; that it will have to be continued in the pages of the FAS, but here, at the convention, it cannot be continued."

* * *

The all too-friendly relations existing between the right-wing Socialist element controlling the needle trade and other unions and the organ of the Jewish federation has not proven at any time as a healthy boon for the Jewish Anarchist movement. Whenever the groups within this Federation will realize this fact, they will be able to take a stand toward the trade unions consistent with the ideal of anarchism and the tactics of the anarchist movement.—M.G.

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The Russian colony in Boston had a great treat the week-end of January 31st, this year. Comrade G. Maximoff was there and delivered two lectures. The first was on: "What did the Bolsheviks give to the Russian people?" (Did they establish Socialism?) The second was on "The Bankruptcy of Socialism Among Nations." Comrade Maximoff was fluent and convincing in his lectures. I wish to re-state in my own interpretation his assertion, that if the so-called communists desire a "United Front," why don't they release the political prisoners they incarcerated and unite with them first? The Bolsheviks are Bolsheviks—to keep what they grabbed at the expense of the thousands and thousands who sacrificed themselves for the Revolution, for the emancipation from any ruling clique.

HARRY BLOCK.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(January 15 to February 15)

Income	\$219.73
Expenditures	125.33
Deficit from last issue	54.50
	\$219.73
	179.83
Balance	39.90

(Included in above Statement from Groups)

New York City 21.00; Los Angeles, Calif., \$7.00; Jessup, Pa., \$17.30; Cleveland, Ohio, \$5.00; Brooklyn, N. Y., \$15.00; Needham, Mass., \$5.00; Rochester, N. Y., \$10.00; Detroit, Mich., \$8.00; Phila., Pa., \$13.50; Youngstown, Ohio, \$14.50; Detroit, Mich., \$21.50; Willsonville, Ill., \$7.00; Detroit Mich., \$4.15; Los Angeles, Calif., \$2.50, and \$1.50; Chicago, Ill., \$2.20 and \$2.20.

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